

It seems all our lobbying and efforts up till 01.30 this morning with the CUD in particular may have worked.

Both the CUD and UEDF will issue statements during the day indicating their full support for the Hearings process. The CUD Council met at 14.00 to confirm this line

The NEB will in half an hour announce the first 'final' results. It seems that this will be: 159 EPRDF, 147 Opposition, 1 Independent (307 results in all). The extraordinary closeness of the results put even greater attention on the Hearings process

The HOMs met for 4 hours... They decided to issue a statement this afternoon under their banner of the UK Presidency strongly urging all parties to stick with the process.

The Troika will probably meet with Bereket on Saturday. Troika meetings are also foreseen early next week with the Mayor of Addis, religious groups - including the Patriarch, the Speaker of the Parliament, Civil society (Citizen's Concern) and the ICRC.. There will be another visit to the detention centre in Ziway on Wednesday led by the NL Ambassador (accompanied by the Human Rights Commissioner, the EC deleg etc).

Just off to the NEB Press Conference to hear the declaration of the results...

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: vendredi 8 juillet 2005 8:51

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); CHILD Patrick (CAB); 'sitcen@consilium.eu.int';

process potentially in tatters. The EPRDF refused to discuss a series of joint texts that I had prepared, indicating that any declarations signed by the CUD were worthless. The CUD (Nega) initially denied that

CUD teams had been called back by CUD Chair Shauwel, but as the day went on it seems that this was not true. Bereket claimed he had proof of telephone calls from Shauwel to his teams in the field. Nega tried to defend the CUD line, indicating that in each case the NEB and EPRDF were making it impossible for the CUD to present their case, with blatant breaking of the rules.

At 13.00 I had to close the meeting of the Parties hosted by me in the delegation, which had been trying to discuss for three hours a way forward. But all avenues were closed.

5 to 10 minutes after leaving the talks the BBC called me to ask how things were going. The message on the BBC website - which misquoted what I had said - did not help.

I decided at 13.30 (in agreement with the Troika) to ask for a meeting with PM Meles to give him an outline of the state of play, and to seek assurances that the very hard line being taken by Bereket - refusing to discuss any possibility of joint texts - was endorsed by him. He gave me an hour of his time at 15.00. He was solidly behind Bereket, indicating that he had transcripts (!) of telephone messages from Shauwel withdrawing his teams. He insisted CUD had to 'play by the rules of the game', and if they did not, they would suffer the consequences. (He also indicated that the events of June 8th would not take place again - he had increased by a factor of 4 his riot control police who had been undergoing intensive training. Special riot control material was being airlifted into Ethiopia on Monday week).

From 16.00 till late last night the Troika plus US was involved in a series of separate meetings with the EPRDF (Bereket) and the CUD (Nega and Shauwel) to try to see if there was any way out of the impasse. I received a call from the Carter Centre confirming that the CUD teams had left. The EPRDF believe that the CUD will be shooting itself in the foot if they continue in this way - the investigation process will continue, irrespective of whether CUD is present or not. But I, the Troika, the US and the rest of the International Community is convinced that the whole credibility of the electoral process is now on the line (the CID had very good reasons for complaining about abuses of the procedures, but they shouldn't have withdrawn.).

If the Hearings process breaks down, it is difficult to envisage a peaceful end to the process.

We are now expecting a formal written statement from the CUD of their position. It should emerge at about 10.00 this morning. The Troika plus US will try and see NEB Chair at 09.30, plus the Observation teams. There is a HOMs meeting at 10.15. The NEB will probably declare at 14.30 final results from 249 constituencies (those that were not contested). We will do everything we can to try and get the process back on track. We are hoping there will be no demonstrations today - an excellent CUD Press Release urging calm and restraint on the streets today was refused publication by the Govt media. The CUD think that EPRDF will provoke demonstrations.

In all the drama yesterday (quite apart from the terrible tragedy in London) I have lost track of what happened in the EP in Strasbourg. I hope we can get a briefing on this very rapidly.

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: jeudi 7 juillet 2005 9:42

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); CHILD Patrick (CAB); 'sitcen@consilium.eu.int'; DOENS Koen (CAB); GOMES Ana (EP); MEYER-RESENDE Michael (RELEX); MADEIRA DOS SANTOS Victor (AIDCO); QUINCE Gary (AIDCO); K...

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T

COREU last night by the UK Pres. Nothing really new - just a briefing by the Troika to the other HOMs on what we had been doing. Some new initiatives going to be taken on human rights, visits to detainees and the media.

As indicated in my mail yesterday, I was mandated to continue the debate with the three party leaders. This took place at 17.00 yesterday and continued to 20.30

It was a long and rather depressing meeting, which made very little headway. We will have another go at 11.00 this morning

3 Topics on the agenda:

- 1) Progress in the Hearings
- 2) Media
- 3) Declaration of final results on July 8th

The only area where any advance was made was on 1). After a long discussion where both the Opposition and EPRDF made many complaints on the Investigations, at my suggestion, it was agreed that an instruction be issued by Kemal to all the NEB Chairs of the Panels, that they should send each night to him a report on the work of the Panel during the day. The following morning, a meeting would take place, chaired by the NEB with all the parties and all Observer groups. Any problems or points of principle that had arisen during the day could be raised at this meeting and put on record. Feedback would then be given to each Panel. By such a technique, information flow would be improved and difficulties with particular Investigation Panels addressed. Richard Chambers will write a formal instruction on how this should work. Kemal should call a meeting of all Parties and Observer groups today at 14.00

On the media issue, no progress. Bereket still refuses to discuss it. I cannot work out why. For the Opposition however, it is key

On the Declaration on July 8th, a draft text was produced but never really debated. The EPRDF say they don't need a text on July 8th. The NEB does. UEDF is against. CUD indifferent. The Opposition won't agree to a text unless the media issue is addressed

The compromise that I am proposing, is that there is a combined text produced which is a sort of progress report on what has been achieved, indicating that all Parties still affirm their intention to stay in the game. Bereket claims to have firm evidence that the CUD is going to pull out

The atmospherics are very difficult. We thought we would have another try today. Bereket, in a tete-a-tete after the meeting with me, expressed his profound concern with the EP Resolution. There is not much that can be done. It seems there will be a Resolution and debate in Strasbourg this morning. Nothing in it that will be very helpful to the process I fear

Today I will meet with Nega at 09.00, then have another go with all three Parties at 11.00. I then have a Troika meeting with the media at 16.00

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 6 juillet 2005 8:35

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); CHILD Patrick (CAB); 'sitcen@consilium.eu.int'; DOENS Koen (CAB); GOMES Ana (EP); MEYER-RESENDE Michael (RELEX); MADEIRA DOS SANTOS Victor (AIDCO); QUINCE Gary (AIDCO);

Bereket on the Media Code; HOMs; New declarations

The Chair of the CUD, Hailu Shauwel, was interviewed last night on HardTalk, one day after Meles. He came across very badly. Incoherent and inarticulate. He committed the cardinal sin of lying - denying several times any CUD involvement in a CUD Press Release inciting violence - yet I was in a meeting with him at the very moment the Press Release came out, where I strongly criticised him for the text. He also threatened that CUD MPs may not talk up their seats in Parliament - this is against the Declaration. Not a good sign. Pity that Nega was not interviewed instead. I will Shauwel later in the day

The Troika plus US meeting with the 3 Party leaders, hosted by the UK Pres, took place. It was the FIRST meeting of this type, and the FIRST time the Parties had met together apart from my personal meetings with them as a group. Hostilities were kept at bay. Generally positive mood around the table on the process, though Bereket played his usual spoiler role, criticising once again Opposition violent 'tactics' and the mismatch between their public statements and their actions. Three 'conclusions' to emerge- we should meet again in the same format; I should meet the three leaders tomorrow (today, 17.00) to draft a new Declaration to be released on July 8th (Kemal had also asked me to do this yesterday); I should discuss again with Bereket the media code with a view to getting his agreement (already agreed by the Opposition).

I met the Director of the ICRC which has played a surprisingly low key role (linked I think to their poor relations with the Ethiopian Govt). They have assisted the Govt medical services (surgeons etc) in a two day training programme in dealing with emergencies, and have provided extra surgical supplies. Their ambulances were heavily involved in the evacuation of the dead/injured during the riots. Have visited Ziway detention centre. No major concerns...??

I was called into the Min of FAffairs in the afternoon. They had just recieved copies of the draft EP Resolution on Human Rights in Ethiopia. They were extremely concerned. This is good - it shows that they are sensitive to international opinion. But having read the text I agree with them that the timing and content is inappropriate, and could even provoke the de-railment of the process and send the wrong signals vis-avis the EC/EU/EP role in the whole process (text unbalanced, hectoring tone, factually out of date and incorrect, not forward looking or constructive etc). I have been in contact with Anders Wijkman who led the EP Observation Mission and Ana Gomes, to see whether the composite resolution - which I understand is set for debate tomorrow - can either be modified or postponed till after July 8th. It is very helpful that there is an EP Resolution, but the timing is very awkward

Had a further discussion with Bereket in the evening. Signs that he is softening slightly...

Today we have a HOMs meeting at 10.15. Then I have a Press Conference on Civil Society - our € 10 million Flagship project for support for civil society which I think is VERY important in the current environment. Then a two hour session with the Party Leaders to see if we can find common language on what has been achieved so far, plus next steps; plus agreement on the media code.

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: lundi 4 juillet 2005 19:11

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX); BOULANGER Georges (RELEX); CHILD Patrick (CAB); 'sitren@consilium.eu.int'; DOENS Koen (CAB); GOMES Ana (EP); MEYER-BESENDE

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Meles is in Sirte, hope to get feedback tomorrow on his meeting with President Barroso; tough, no compromising interview with him on BBC Hard Talk.

Troika met Ato Kemal. Process more or less on track. Two parallel processes: Complaints Review Board and Investigation Panels. CRB in advance of schedule. Judgements to be approved shortly. Does not seem at this stage that any of the complaints rejected by the CRB will be overturned (there are about 140 such complaints). All 26 Investigation Panels in the field. Mixed successes. Kemal could give NO feedback on whether any subpoenas had been issued by each of the panels. He promised such information tonight - but not received. He made an appeal for more Observers

The likely scenario on July 8th - the date where the NEB has said that results would be announced officially, is that some 200 results - out of 524 would be definitively known by then (except for court cases). He would like to publish these, but the Opposition is against. He asked us to mediate a discussion on this. We don't mind mediating but we will NOT take a view on whether to publish or not. The likely scenario according to Kemal is that there may be a need for up to 40 re-votes. The decision to make a re-vote could only be taken by the NEB after the end of the CIP process - end July at the earliest. The Re-polls could only be taken two weeks after the NEB decision - and would need Observers etc. He is under pressure from various parties to postpone the Somali region elections in 23 constituencies - but he will refuse. The Somali election date is 21st August. The most likely scenario, because of Admin constraints, is that the re-polls would be sequenced, perhaps starting week-beginning Aug 15th. Please bear in mind that these new re-polls WOULD NEED MORE EU OBSERVERS

Main news to arise from Citizen's concern group is that many detainees have been released from Ziway. One of their members was visiting detainees yesterday. Human Rights conditions seem OK. At the end of our meeting, a telephone call to Ziway gave the news that 3 Human Rights activists had been released on bail, as well as 4 CUD supporters (to be confirmed).

Spoke twice to Bereket. He has not responded to the draft Code. I will call him later tonight again.

Tomorrow's menu: EU/US/N visit to the other main detainee camp, Zandafa, led by the NL Ambassador. There are meant to be 199 detainees there - mainly students. Troika will meet all three parties over lunch hosted by UK Pres. Will try to push media issues and future reconciliation attempts

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: dimanche 3 juillet 2005 9:36
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

I still have not got a proper independent translation (past experience indicates that the English version of the Amharic texts done by Govt sources are much softer than the original)

His popular refrain against opposition violence is sprinkled throughout the text. There are elements of the Plan B threat as well. So I can understand the Opposition's reaction to it yesterday

The UK Ambassador gave me a very worried call yesterday, transcribing information from ERIS that they are extremely worried about the quality of the AU Observers and that the credibility of the process is once again severely at risk, as seen particularly through our eyes and the eyes of the Opposition. We may need to take some sort of emergency measures on Monday morning to recruit locally amongst the EU

diplomatic missions some observers who can be given a crash training course by the EU EOM and deployed with the panels. But there are many implications of such a measure which obviously would need the green light of Ana Gomes, RELEX and DEV

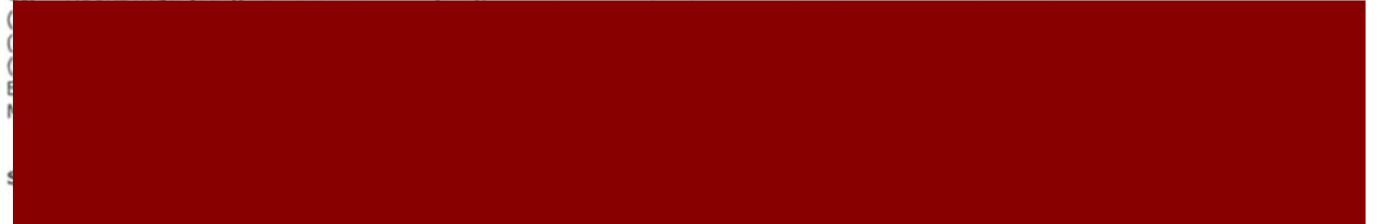
Tim

<< File: MelesSpeechJuly1.doc >>

P.S. As from tomorrow I will cull some people from this daily distribution list (I am thinking notably of RELEX K staff who were added at the time when security was a big concern - it may of course still become one). Those who have been culled and want to be put back in, please let me know

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: samedi 2 juillet 2005 11:29
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf

(RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicole (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);



I have just received two unprovoked and very hostile responses to Meles's speech from Hailu Shauwel CUD and another Opposition Party Leader

It appears - according to them at least - that his rhetoric was not as soothing as I had been told. Indeed they believe it may even incite violence. I'm afraid I will have to await the english translation to get a balanced view

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: samedi 2 juillet 2005 9:59
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicole (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);



english version of the speech late this afternoon

He appeared in a much more 'human', engaging style than on previous occasions. He apologised for the deaths and the riots, but insisted that the rule of law must be respected. He expressed his belief that the electoral process was back on track and this would pave the way for a new form of democracy in Ethiopia

My prime reason for meeting Bereket was to seek his views/agreement on the draft media code that I distributed yesterday and for which I already had an agreement in principle from the Opposition parties. Bereket was not able to pronounce open it immediately, but promised to get back to me on Monday. I am sure he will agree. I may have to call it a 'Voluntary Code', and point 7 on implementation needs to be fleshed out a bit more. But even if implementation was a problem - which I am sure it will be, it



nevertheless would constitute a major confidence building measure and allow the general public to start having more confidence in the media - which currently no-one trusts at all

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: vendredi 1 juillet 2005 17:07
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

~~10896-2 DR.B. LIEBERGSON, J.-L. DEBIDT, KHEUNEL Bland / CAD; VAN BELINCEN Marc / DELCO; TIMANS Rolf~~

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results; Meles statement tonight on TV

The UK Presidency hosted a breakfast meeting with the new EU Troika. He has circulated by COREU this morning a programme of priority activities to deal with the electoral process. Monday will meet Kemal of NEB. Tuesday EU Troika plus US will meet all three parties.

Had two hour meeting with Shauwel CUD and Petros UEDF. Agreed in principle a Media Code that I drafted last night (see attached). This could have a dramatic impact. I will discuss this with Bereket at 09.00 tomorrow, Saturday. If all goes well I will convene a meeting of all parties on Monday and aim for signature on Tuesday - in the presence of the Troika plus US.

They have very real concerns about the detainees. They also are very worried that even if their people are subpoenaed, they will be tortured if and when they return to detention. CUD has asked for 90 detainees to be released, UEDF for 166, in order to participate in the panels' work. No decisions yet. We are waiting expectantly to see if the NEB subpoenas are issued.

Complaints Review Panel that started yesterday is working well. 8 cases that had been rejected and contested were looked at yesterday, 34 today. Decision still expected on the 8, but for the 34 consensus by NEB and Parties that the rejections were justified. A further 100 or so still need to be looked at. But it shows that the NEB lawyers doing their first 'tn' have done a good job

All 26 Investigation Panels despatched yesterday. It remains to be seen how they work. They have to deal with each constituency in 3 days. 135 constituencies to be visited

Observers in place. All rather chaotic. 10 Carter Centre people with the 26 teams. (they will mobilise an extra 10 - making 20 observers in all - if there are re-polls). There are 26 AU observers - but they have no core team, nor funding, nor experience. Also, Carter Centre has had two cases already where the NEB Panel Chairs have refused to allow the Observers to participate !!! Kemal is going on TV tonight to put out an appeal to ensure that observers are fully integrated into the teams.

CUD and UEDF are crystal clear that if there are no observers they will not participate in the panels.

So the whole process could very easily go off the rails.....

PM Meles has announced that he will appear on TV tonight and make a statement. I don't know what he will say. I fear he will threaten 'Plan B' if people don't use restraint

Tim Clarke
HoD

<< File: DraftBindingMediaCodeofConduct3006.doc >>

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: jeudi 30 juin 2005 8:28

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc:

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Subject: Ethiopia: Meeting with PM Meles this afternoon

Just to inform you I have a meeting with Meles at 14.00 this afternoon. This will occur after this morning's HOMs. I'm still trying for a meeting with the Federal Police Commissioner at 12.00 in order to get precise data on the detainees

Finally, the NEB Hearings definitively start this morning at 09.00

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 29 juin 2005 19:49

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve

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The process is still on track despite many apparent setbacks. I have intervened by me and Nega in Berlin, to stick with the process for the next two days, even though ALL their detainees (over 400) are still behind bars. They hope the international community can still exert pressure on Meles to get their detainees out. Non-political detainees are progressively being released - a further 400 this morning (unconfirmed).

The UK Ambassador saw Meles on G8 business last night, and the US Ambassador saw him this afternoon. I am trying to see him tomorrow. At the moment he has not changed his 'official' position that those needed for the hearings/appeals will be made available. But the ball has been cleverly placed in the court of the NEB, and it is by no means certain that the NEB Panels will subpoena all the individuals demanded by the Opposition. The Opposition have told me that they will still wait and see. The first Subpoenas should be made tomorrow by each of the NEB Investigation Panels...

The NL Ambassador saw the Patriarch this morning to assess interests of the religious leaders. He was very very prudent and will not intervene. I saw the Citizen Concern group again, and also the Managing Editor of Ethiopia TV to look at the range of option available on a Code of Conduct for the Parties on media. I will have a document to put to the parties by tomorrow afternoon, and will probably try to reconvene by trilateral Party Head meeting on Friday. I will try and meet the Police Commissioner tomorrow morning to get names and details of all the detainees. In principle, this information should be in the public domain.

There was a further meeting today of US and EU Troika. The British Presidency will convene another meeting on Tuesday. The HOMs meet tomorrow morning.

The two key issues remain the release of detainees and access to the media. I hope to have further information on these tomorrow

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: lundi 27 juin 2005 13:07

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

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Ziway, Media, Observers

Apologies for no report on Friday or over the week-end. I had organised a week-end EU HOMs project visit/bonding session 6 hours from Addis and returned late Sunday. Thankfully it went very well

At the meeting on Friday the Ambassadors Group met the Opposition leaders for two hours. Nothing really new. Potentially explosive situation. Very strong rhetoric: 'post electoral state repression', 'systematic propaganda war against the Opposition', 'government is subverting the constitution by mass arrests'.

The Chair of CUD Hailu Shauel told me this morning that there had been more mass arrests over the week-end. 200 CUD supporters had been taken away at a meeting on Friday in West Gojam and are still in jail. 'Not a single CUD detainee had so far been released'. He doubted they could continue the process. I think the situation is very grave

I spoke to the Chair of the NEB Ato Kemal this morning. Further terms of reference for the precise operation of the Complaints Investigation Panel have been drafted. They will be submitted to the Parties today at 14.00. He does not expect the Investigation process to start before Wednesday. According to these ToR it is the NEB which will have to subpoena witnesses. Each of the 26 Investigation Panels will be given these powers. It is at this point that Opposition supporters may/may not be called as witnesses. The Hearings process conducted by the Complaints Review Board will not start until Wednesday or Thursday (as opposed to today. He could not explain to me why)

Clearly, despite the personal commitment made to me by PM Meles, and also the comments he made to the Donor Group Ambassadors on Thursday last week, the Government is not going to release CUD and UEDF members without a fight..

One positive element on Friday was a meeting with a new group called Citizens Concern, composed of a range of civil society members, chaired by a historian Prof Bahru Zwede and initiated by ex-Ambassador Berhane Gebray (ex Sec Gen of the ACP Group). At my instigation they have drafted a draft Post-Electoral Code of Conduct for Political Parties which covers a range of issues related to the media, hate language etc. They want to create a civil society movement for reconciliation and peace. They will ask all Parties to sign a Covenant for Peace which they are also drafting. I will see them again on Wednesday.

I have arranged a meeting of the Managing Editors of the Government media tomorrow (TV, Press, Radio) to see what space exists for opening up the media and in particular, a Media Code of Conduct. I also am trying to meet Minister Bereket on the same matter later today

The Private sector is also being targeted . The head of the Addis Chamber of Commerce - a CUD supporter - is in jail. I have been asked to intervene on his behalf

Re Rolf's Mail on Observers I agree with him that the EU EOM's credibility is at risk. The Carter Centre and AU Mission have both responded to the need (and the request of Meles) to recruit additional observers for this vital stage in the whole process. Our team now is down to the bare minimum. I think it

would be a great shame if we cannot follow both the Hearings/Appeal Process and the Investigations Panel. The Opposition feels very strongly that the credibility of the process is being eroded by the day. I cannot judge how long they will stay with the process

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: jeudi 23 juin 2005 19:20
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf

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 Discussion

No time to make a full account of day's events but:

- Gave a briefing to all Ambassadors this morning
- Participated in an Ambassador's two hour meeting with Meles this afternoon. Nothing new to report- Meles went through his usual well-rehearsed positions which I have already transmitted to you. I handed him the CUD detainee list and he promised to release those needed for the hearings. Some opening on media access. Entrenched position on anti-constitutional position of the Opposition parties who could not be trusted. Referred to the EP Parliament debate, notably the apparently non-constitutional speech given by the Brussels-based Ethiopian intellectual -Negasa (I would like to have a verbatim report of his intervention if possible). Stated ad nauseam that Opposition could not be trusted. Promised that EPRDF would respect the process. Indicated that the Ethiopian Parliament is looking at procedural changes (UK, D, CAN) to the Parliament's workings to accommodate structural changes
- Delegation (Irene Mingasson) chaired Cotonou Task Force discussion on the current electoral situation. Dialogue virtually impossible with Govt on this. Strong appreciation from civil society of our initiative to engage in this discussion. They see us as a strong ally
- I participated in discussion with CIDA, US AID, DFID, SIDA, Irish Aid, NL, UN family of possible consequences of current situation on aid flows/suspension (after UK, Swedish positions). We agreed to set up an extremely limited group at Head of Coop level, working under strict confidentiality in a highly secure environment, to establish some criteria for judging on suspension issues under a range of different political scenarios. First draft will emerge mid-next week

Meetign tomorrow of Ambassadors with the Opposition

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: mercredi 22 juin 2005 18:04
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf

Subject: Ethiopia: EU/US/N visit to detainees ; CUD Detainees -243

The visit to Ziway Detainee centre took place. This time free access was given. The visit was led by the Irish Charge, and included N and US reps plus the Prison Fellowship. No exact figures - perhaps 2000 detainees being held there, and 2500 released ?? None seem to have been formally charged. There is a 'sifting' process at the moment on-going. Will report more fully when I get a report. Disturbing that there are daily additions to the detainee list, despite the releases

Have been given by the CUD leader Shauwel a list of their known detainees - 184 from Addis, 59 from elsewhere. The list is being updated daily. They have written to the NEB requesting their release. I am hoping for a similar list from the UEDF. I may get it tonight where I have invited all the Parties plus prominent members of civil society to my residence for a round-table discussion

I will forward tomorrow the conclusions of a meeting currently under progress hosted by NEB where the three main Observer groups are discussing how to optimise the observation process. Have received the very disappointing news that apparently the EU EOM cannot be reinforced

Two hour HOMs meeting this morning. Very worrying information from Ana Gomes' latest EU EOM report circulated by COREU on large numbers of corpses in various hospitals. Am seeking clarification though the current Acting Chief Observer. A number of Ambassadors have similar info.

HOMs debated recent UK - and now Swedish decision - on aid suspension. HOMs agree to try and put together coherent analysis on which such decisions could be based

Tomorrow two Ambassador Donor Group meetings to discuss current situation. Meeting with Meles foreseen at 15.00

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 21 juin 2005 18:59

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (RELEX); JEFFERSON William (RELEX); PINCHOFF David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

I heard during the day that Mohamed and his 11 children had planned to leave for Italy, but all the passengers EXCEPT him were advised to take another flight at 06.30 in the morning. Machiavellic.

I had a long discussion with CUD leader Shauwel. He is very worried about continuing arrests and the likelihood that detained staff will NOT be able to participate in hearings. Not optimistic that there will be a peaceful outcome in the long term....

Despite assurances beforehand, a visit to Ziway detainee centre two hours south of Addis, had to return without access being given. It was organised by the Irish Charge and the Prison Fellowship Trust, with Swedish and Norwegian colleagues and the Human Rights Commissioner Dr Kassa. They waited two

hours outside the prison then had to return to Addis. Lots of apologies later from the Minister for Federal Affairs. They will go back again tomorrow morning. Amazing that the HRC Commissioner did not even have access. HRC Commissioner has seemingly produced a statement on the riots etc. Haven't seen it yet, but it appears bland and un reassuring.

Briefing from me to the UN, EU, AU and US on the latest developments in the electoral process. Common line on the need for the integrity of the process to be respected. Real worries that the July 8th date for release of final results will not be respected. NEB only distributed copies of the appeal information to parties this morning. Hearings now not likely to start till Monday next week... Presence of Tanzanian leader of the AU Observers in the meeting. Excellent news that 12 AU observers have now arrived ! Concern that there needs to be strong co-operation between Observer groups from EU, AU, and Carter centre. Meetings with these groups took place under UN auspices at 16.00. Don't yet know the results

Agreement from local HOMs on Talking points for future meetings with Meles and Opposition leaders. To be distributed by Lux Presidency for approval of capitals tomorrow prior to our meeting with Meles on Thursday

Another special EU HOMs tomorrow morning to further discuss division of labour for immediate/medium-term measures. We in the delegation are trying to organise Cotonou Non State Actors Task Force dialogue on Thursday afternoon. The reality however is that many of the usual members are absent or whereabouts unknown... It seems the ICRC has visited a Police Training College in Addis this afternoon where at least 180 students were detained. I haven't had feedback

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: mardi 21 juin 2005 8:15
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Jose (DEV); ELIAS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSEIL); SABATUCCI Raineri (CAB);

Will report later in the day on the NEB Joint Party Forum yesterday afternoon which launched the Appeals process. Investigation panels due to start their work Wednesday

Range of HOMs and Troika plus US meetings yesterday to launch wide consultation process this week

HOMs will agree this morning on Speaking Notes for meetings with PM Meles on Thursday (15.00), and Opposition leaders on Friday (10.00). Will be sent by COREU later this afternoon to seek EU capitals agreement on the proposed approach.

AU Chair Konare will see Meles tomorrow

The Chair of the CUD Hailu Shauwel asked to see me this morning at 10.00. Meeting with EU Troika, US, UN, AU this afternoon to exchange views. HOMs meeting tomorrow morning to set out detailed medium-term strategy on human rights, democracy building, governance issues

So, a great deal of diplomatic activity aimed at identifying common lines and trying to ensure a buy-in of

all groups to the completion of the electoral process in a peaceful manner.

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: lundi 20 juin 2005 7:57

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Berhanu Nega called me at 22.30 on Sunday night from the airport to say that he had been refused to leave for Brussels.

I called Bereket. After half an hour I had a return call from Bereket to say he would be allowed to go. I failed to speak to Nega again, so I don't know if he was allowed on to the flight for Brussels last night or not. I suggested to Nega that he called Joao when he arrived to arrange meetings etc

Democracy here is very fragile and at present in the hands of a small elite..

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: dimanche 19 juin 2005 18:07

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri

(B) [REDACTED]

But I sent my report yesterday before I had an extremely irritated Minister Bereket on the phone who, having seen the CUD Press Release, became apoplectic and called off all form of future dialogue with these 'rubbish people'. Ironically it was provoked by one relatively harmless line in the CUD statement that I had recommended that the CUD should remove, but which they failed to do. He said he would issue a counterstatement last night and that all future meetings were off.

To my knowledge, no such statement has been released, and I will try tomorrow Monday to bring the parties together again around media issues

[REDACTED]

Nega will arrive in Brussels in mid-morning, Gomes will arrive at 11.00 ish from Lisbon. Merrera, the leader of the UEDF, will try and get a Schengen visa on Monday with a view to arriving in Brussels on Tuesday morning for the EP debate. I think at the very least, these individuals should have a meeting with Comm Michel's Cabinet, AH (Dev) and DS (RELEX), perhaps put together by Joao.

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: samedi 18 juin 2005 13:20
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

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 Brussels, Hrights

Another busy Saturday so far, with further meetings at my residence with all the Party leaders.

The Commissioner for Police made a statement last night on detainees etc. It include an attack on the Opposition and is full of propaganda hate language. I have expressed my dismay both to Bereket and to PM Meles. The Opposition will hold a Press Conference at 14.00. I have seen their statement which is very measured and conciliatory. They are taking the high moral road. They tell me that their cadres are still being arrested. Bereket said this morning that 700 out of 4000 have been released. The Opposition have no idea whether their members are included amongst them

I am working with colleagues on a media Code of Conduct. I hope to get a draft for Monday. I think it would very useful to have a jointly signed statement of principles on this

The judgement against the NEB for publishing provisional results has been taken to appeal. The Supreme Court will rule on this on Monday. Curiously, the NEB published some regional results last night, seemingly almost in defiance of the judgement

The NEB will kick start the Appeals process on Monday afternoon where it will convene the Joint Political Forum. The first results of the appeals process have come out this morning. CUD: 80 recommended for investigation, 68 against, 37 pending; EPRDF 17 recommended for investigation, 20 against; UEDF: 43 recommended, 135 against; Others: 10 recommended, 11 against. So 150 cases will be submitted to the NEB Board for immediate Investigation. All the parties have 48 hours to appeal on the rejected cases. The numbers for Investigation are slightly less than first thought - the Opposition parties are already wondering why...

Berhanu Nega will come to Brussels on Sunday night, arriving 09.20 Monday morning to attend the EP Devel Com debate

The EU HRights Task force met yesterday and decided to: send letters to the HRCommissioner, the Police Commissioner, and Head of Criminal Division at the Justice Ministry; consider examining individual cases brought by NGOs; seek access of ICRC to prisons; seek a legal opinion on the legal framework for the arrests and the role of the Constitutional Inquiry Committee of the Parliament

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: vendredi 17 juin 2005 18:20

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

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Had two hours discussion between the Parties this morning on signing up to some or all of the 10 principles, but failed to get agreement. Extreme tension, mistrust and hostility. Present agreement remains very fragile. EPRDF would not accept any role of parties in matters dealing with government responsibilities. No trust by Opposition that promise made by Meles the previous night would materialise.

High level of brinkmanship throughout the day: CUD wanted to call a Press conference to announce where the process had got to; EPRDF threatened to withdraw if any such conference took place. Eventually got a series of commitments from Bereket to make a statement tonight. Has just been confirmed through the Prime Minister's Office that it will be made by the Police Commissioner tonight, and that during the next few days most detainees will be released. Opposition has finally agreed to hold their conference tomorrow.

We will have to analyse the content of the statement and proceed accordingly

HOMs meeting supported present approach. Some division of responsibilities on tasks: Irish will organise prison visit on Tuesday with Prison Fellowship NGO; Sweden working on child arrests; we will look at civil society issues. Human Rights group chaired by Italy met this afternoon to discuss the situation - not feedback yet. Personally I'm disappointed by the lack of real commitment by MSs to follow up on the new issues of governance and democracy that have emerged.

Next Monday EU Troika will meet with US, then there will be a EU, UN, AU, US coordination group to swap stories and seek common solutions. The HOMs will meet at 15.30 - and will continue to meet daily

Opposition has been invited to EP Devel Committee in Brussels on Tuesday 21st June. They are prepared to go. Still clarifying who will pay. Probably Dr Nega (CUD) and Dr Herrera (UEDF) would go. If they do, it would be useful to arrange meetings in the Commission

Bon week-end

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: jeudi 16 juin 2005 19:20

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

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tomorrow. He indicated that as many as 200 may be recommended by the Complaints Review Board to go through to the Investigation Panel. This is a good sign in terms of transparency and professional

independence but a real INDICTMENT of the process - perhaps 40 % of the consitutencies may need to be investigated !! Instead of 10 Investigation teams he said that he will probably need 25 !!! That means that we will need 25 Observers. And these will need to be mobilised by Wednesday next week.....I understand that the EU EOM has 4 plus 2 next week (6), Carter has 4 plus 3 next week (7), AU has no-one. So we need a minimum of 12. I know of 3 ex-STOs from the Embassies in Addis who have been trained and could be used. Can these be mobilised rapidly ! I think it is really important that the investigation teams include an observer. Can Rolf, Victor come back to me very fast on this ?

Dr Behane is the author of a Citizens' Appeal initiative that has just been launched in the papers. It is asking for signatures from eminent Ethiopians calling on all parties to seek consensual solutions. They will be asking for meetings with the PM and all parties. This is an excellent initiative that should be encouraged

HOMs meeting - nothing special. Sadly I had to go to my meeting with Meles before there was a serious discussion on division of labour. I will report on what was discussed tomorrow

My meeting with Meles lasted 45 minutes. He was in ebullient form. He agreed with points 1 to 5 (release of detainees etc) and 9 and 10 (rule of law and restraint of the security services) of the document I distributed yesterday. He said this lay within the competence of the Government. I asked him to make a public statement BEFORE the formal start of the Appeals process. He agreed to make some sort of announcement in the next two days, and to inform me prior to the announcement. He asked me to inform the Opposition parties of his 'personal commitment' to these issues. He also agreed in principle to some sort of declaration by the parties on a Code of Conduct for the media point 6, and something addressing ethnic hatred/intolerance point 8. He agreed that the public media should better reflect opposition opinion but was against an Independent Media Commission, point 7. All very promising

Similar messages it seems were given to UK Minister Benn (he used the 10 points as speaking points) to Meles yesterday

I have called a meeting of the Parties at 08.30 tomorrow to discuss next steps. There also will be a meeting of the HOMs at 12.00

Following the announcement of Minister Benn on the temporary halt to the scaling up of the UK's budget support programme (against the advice of the Head of DFID several hours beforehand !) the WB Director is calling a meeting tomorrow at 15.00 local time to discuss the implications of this. Grateful if you have any ideas on our position.

Small reminder - please can I have an immediate response on whether or not the EU EOM can mobilise more observers ?

Thanks

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: jeudi 16 juin 2005 8:18

To: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX); MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

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For Meles at 17.00 this afternoon. Main area of discussion: which of these principles to maintain and

competence of Govt/Political parties and what decisions will he take to put the principles into practice.

Will see Ato Kemal, Chair of NEB this morning to discuss final details of complaints procedures etc. Also will see Dr Berhane, ex Sec Gen ACP who is piloting an initiative on reconciliation efforts between the parties.

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 15 juin 2005 18:55

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

[REDACTED]

Importance: High

The main discussion today has surrounded the production of the attached document that sets out a number of factors that would help develop confidence in the complaints process. This document has been approved by the Opposition parties with the tacit agreement of various members of the international community (US, Safrica, F). I will not know until later tonight the attitude of the Ruling party

I will meet with the Chair of the NEB tomorrow morning to discuss next steps. He informed me this afternoon that he should be in a position to distribute to the Parties the preliminary results of the Complaints Review on each of the 299 cases by Saturday. The parties will then have 48 hours to decide whether to accept the rulings or institute the hearings process

The Deputy HOMs met this morning, but the HOMs meeting was postponed at the last minute to tomorrow afternoon. Hopefully at this time there will be a division of labour on tasks to be performed. At the current time we here in the delegation are considering taking on the process of dialogue with civil society, and have already made contact with the Cotonou Civil Society Task Force to see how such a dialogue could be instituted

Tim

<< File: Declarationconduciveenv1506.doc >>

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 15 juin 2005 8:02

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

[REDACTED]

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 14 juin 2005 19:27

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Subject: Ethiopia: Agreements on three texts; Donor coord meeting; Meeting with Meles

Importance: High

A successful morning's negotiations. The parties agreed at midday after 3 hours on an Amharic version of the new Declaration (a diplomatic challenge - to preside a meeting conducted partially in amaharic on an amharic document) as well as two sets of ToRs on the Complaints Review Body and Investigation Panel. The discussion was very heated

This means the electoral process can resume at last after being at an impasse for many days. The NEB hopefully will issue an instruction tonight and the process will start tomorrow

The agreement is still very fragile, with lots of mistrust on both sides, but I think it will hold. Tomorrow I will hold a discussion just with the Opposition parties on the key elements they need for a 'conducive enabling environment' - liberation of their members from prison etc. I will go back into shuttle diplomacy for a couple of days on this before confronting both parties with possible actions. I have also invited the S African, US and F Ambassadors to the discussion. I have asked the AU, UN and others to provide elements that they would like to contribute too

Within minutes of the Amharic text being signed, two CUD leaders were released from house arrest (Shauwel and Lidetu - this was an excellent response from Bereket after a bit of prodding)

NL hosted a donor coord meeting with the UN, EU Troika, US and AU plus African Deans. Excellent meeting agreeing on a number of common actions. The Deputy HOMs will meet at 10.00 to discuss these further and present concrete ideas to the HOMs at 15.00.

At 16.00 I had a meeting with PM Meles. It lasted one hour and a half. I went with the WB Director Ishac Diwan. For various reasons we are both treated as 'friends' by Meles and can have a very open dialogue.

Ishac focussed on macro-economic issues, I focussed on governance, the election and human rights. Ishac indicated that Ethiopia stood to benefit \$4.5 Billion !!! from the debt relief deal (although it will take a very long time coming, and may of course be questioned in the light of current events). He also indicated that the WB has \$600 million in the pipeline up till June 2006 and the WB President may pass through Addis on 1st/2nd July. He also indicated very severe concerns about the mobilisation of funds for the Food Security programme and asked for his personal intervention to speed up financial disbursements at woreda level (3 million people at risk). He expressed concerns about the electoral process and its impact on their programmes

I focussed on the arrests and violence in the streets, the lack of public information on numbers of arrested, wounded and dead, the unacceptable holding of party memebhrs and innocent civilians without charge, the brutality of the soldiers and lack of training in riot control, the need for the ICRC and others to be invited to detention centres, the lack of intervention/total silence of the Human Rights Commission. I said that he was doing his own reputation and his Government's a disservice by his inadequate response and that rumours and counter rumours were rife. I said he should be much more pro-active on this issue and respond to our concerns.

Meles accepted this criticism and indicated that he had not responded adequately. He insisted that 'he would not compromise on the rule of law' and all those arrested had now been charged (needs to be done within 48 hours apparently). He indicated that he would in due course do a review of last Wednesday's events, but that already steps had been taken to look at riot control methods. He believes that there is not a general security problem and if trouble breaks out again he can manage it 'without too much collateral'. He still believes there is a 'hard core' of opposition that needs to be dealt with. He responded favourably on my suggestion for ICRC - led investigations. He confessed that the way it had been handled had affected Ethiopia's reputation

I told him that I would be discussing with the Opposition tomorrow concrete actions that would be needed to give confidence on the enabling environment including the release of party members. I promised to come back to him with proposals (this will also be discussed in the HOMs meeting tomorrow afternoon)

So, bref, a good day.

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 14 juin 2005 7:58

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

[REDACTED]

Importance: High

Addis calm.

Meles last night extended the demonstration restrictions till July 8th (expected date for announcement of final results). The existing restrictions expired today The extension was predicatable

Banner headlines of role of EU in supporting the peace and dialogue process. I am treated like a film star in the streets. Everywhere local people express pride in what we have achieved so far.

Will meet this morning to try and get agreement on Amharic version of text agreed last night, plus agreement on ToR for complaints and panel investigation. Relationships between parties still very fragile. Walking on eggs. May start late afternoon discussions on 'conducive environment' - liberating prisoners, arbitrary arrest, press freedom etc. Will meet in Troika format late morning to agree a local 'Action Plan' to visit detention centres, Human Rights Commissioner etc

I will see Meles with Ishac Diwan Director of WBank at 16.00 to press him on governance issues

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: lundi 13 juin 2005 19:44

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

[REDACTED]

conditions for a conducive enabling environment (leaders out of prison etc etc)

[REDACTED]

They almost resumed hostilities over the Amharic version (with possibilities of re-opening the debate on the english text) so I have postponed the discussion on this until 08.30 tomorrow. Nothing will be released to the press before then

At the HOMs meeting I proposed a division of labour within the EU on a range of tasks, primarily relating to human rights and the press: regularly seeing prisoners and detention camps, meeting with the Human Rights Commissioner, the Military and the Police, discussions with civil society. We hope to set out a short-to medium term strategy by tomorrow midday.

I also raised questions in the HOMs about my own role and the role of the Troika. As regards my own role everyone is very supportive within the HOMs. Today I also asked the political parties the same question and they all want me to be an integral part of the process, at least whilst we are trying to jump over some very uncomfortable humps. My hope however is that I only perform this high intensity role for the next few days, and that some more sustainable long-term solution is then put in place. A number of options are possible and we will try to make a concrete proposal in the next few days

At 11.00 the Troika will meet to review progress, then there will be a meeting of the EU, US, UN and AU, hosted by the NL. It seems likely that I will see PM Meles the WB Director at some stage tomorrow

The UK Ambassador indicated that Tony Blair had spoken to Meles last night. I assume he spoke AFTER rather than before I did. He was reported to have urged restraint

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: lundi 13 juin 2005 11:11

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (RELEX);

(REDACTED)

(REDACTED)

Importance: High

<< File: USSTATEMENTONDECLARATION120605.doc >> << File: CUDstatement1106.tif >>

Addis back to normal. Shops open, taxis functioning etc. But behind the scenes there is a lot of confusion. Two UEDF members were killed over the week-end, including one elected member. All sorts of mixed messages. I am hosting a meeting of Party Leaders in my office in one hour. Not yet sure whether EPRDF will attend (just spoken to Bereket's Head of Cabinet and he is awaiting instructions) We will look at draft ToR submitted by the NEB this morning on the Complaints procedure and Investigation panel

The NEB has postponed calling a meeting for this afternoon, pending the results of this morning's meeting.

HOMs meeting this afternoon at 15.00. I will follow this with a meeting with Civil Society and Youth representatives. Am seeking a joint meeting with WB Director Diwan and Meles early this evening or tomorrow morning. This meeting would focus not only on political situation but macroeconomic issues/implications (President of the WB considering coming to Addis first week of July). Hilary Benn will come this Wednesday (primarily for G8 business)

Had a one hour chat with Haile Gebreselasse, the Ethiopian icon. Am exploring various possibilities of involving him in a civil society response to what is going on. He is highly politicised, though not party political and is extremely appreciative of our efforts here to broker a consensus

[REDACTED]

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: dimanche 12 juin 2005 19:31
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

[REDACTED]

I had a half hour discussion on the phone with PM Meles. Good mood to me. Bad to CUD. The US Ambassador spoke to him just before me

Same message. There is no compromise. CUD has to formally retract the statement they made on Friday that talked about pre-conditions. Their retraction on Saturday night was not good enough (see the CUD's website: ethiomeia.com for the text - I can send it). They can't have it both ways. He also used guerilla-style language- talking about de-mobilising their 'army' - presumably a civilian army - I had never heard him use this language before. I am not aware of any civilian 'army'. He is willing to work with CUD if they totally retract the statement.

Afterwards I spoke to Nega. He will think about it and consult his colleagues. We will meet tomorrow

Tomorrow at 08.00 I will meet in my office Haile Gebresellasse, the legendary runner, who has huge respect amongst the population and called me yesterday to thank us for our efforts. Perhaps he can work some of his magic

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: dimanche 12 juin 2005 18:33
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN

[REDACTED]

For info

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: dimanche 12 juin 2005 18:05
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX); BOULANGER Georges (RELEX); CHILD Patrick (CAB); 'sitcen@consilium.eu.int'; DOENS Koen (CAB)

[REDACTED]

Bereket called me this morning to say, contrary to what I had imagined and hoped, that he did not accept the CUD

Am planning also a meeting of the EU Troika, US, UN, AU contact group tomorrow to chart a way ahead

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: dimanche 12 juin 2005 18:33
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

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<< File: EUHOMsStatement120605.doc >>

For info

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: dimanche 12 juin 2005 18:05
To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (RELEX);

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Although life in Addis seems to be returning more or less to normal (taxis on the street again, shops open), after the positive messages going out in the media following the signature of the declaration, the situation behind the scenes is alarming

Bereket called me this morning to say, contrary to what I had imagined and hoped, that he did not accept the CUD clarification. He asked me to transmit this message to the CUD and insisted that they sign a text for the CUD that he had proposed on their behalf. I had long talks with the CUD Chairperson Heile Shauwel, and Deputy Chair Berhanu Nega. They would not move (not at all surprising in my view). So, impasse

I have now chosen another track. I am now trying to exert maximum diplomatic pressure on the EPRDF to fall in line - US, EU, UN etc. I have also contacted Meles and hope to speak to him later today. The EU HOMs have just put out a statement welcoming the Declaration and the CUD clarification, and the US will do the same

Two hours ago I had an other call from Bereket asking how I had got on. He was in a completely uncomprising mood and indicated that if the Opposition wanted bloodshed in the streets they would get it. He was ranting about broken promises, double talk, twisted minds - anything to villify the Opposition in the harshest terms.

The CUD had a Press Conference at 16.00 local time, where they put out another statement distancing them from a rally that seems to be called by some groups in Addis for tomorrow. They do NOT want a rally and want to dissuade people from taking to the streets. They have indicated their desire to follow the declaration process. I passed on their request to Bereket for media time to let the people know and he refused categorically.



It should be noted that Meles' special decree giving him powers over demonstrations in Addis etc expires on Tuesday. Bereket would not tell me if it will be renewed.

My main hope now is through PM Meles. We need to have a resolution of the latest impasse by the end of the day

The HOMs have a meeting tomorrow at 15.00. We will focus on Human Rights issues. The CUD will put out a statement proposing how to create the conditions for a favourable environment for dialogue. We will aim to respond to that

I had a long chat with the World Bank. We are looking at ways of managing the dialogue process over the medium term: with elders, youth groups and civil society, the Addis municipality etc. We will also look with EU/US colleagues at the notion of mediation and who may be able to help at this critical time. Any advice/inputs from HQ would be most welcome

Tim Clarke

P.S. I am now being besieged by the media who at last seem to have picked up the story. I am trying to keep a respectable distance although I realise that it may help to get some messages out

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: dimanche 12 juin 2005 0:24

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (RELEX);
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My opponent for a quarter of a century was Meles and he had been so angry at the CUD's 'pre-conditions' in their signature statement that Bereket would declare on TV that night that the Declaration agreement with CUD was null and void. I pleaded with him to stay with the process, and eventually he agreed. As part of my deal with him, I went on TV to formally request CUD retract their statement (I discussed this with CUD beforehand to ensure there were no surprises). In exchange, the EPRDF did not reject the Declaration

On Saturday morning I was told that the CUD Chairman, Haile Shauwel, had been placed under house arrest (I later discovered from Bereket that it was a specific decision taken by the EPRDF to punish CUD for their statement the day before). I decided to go to his house to try and talk to him.

I arrived at his house to find a posse of journalists (all from international agencies) who had been beaten up and their equipment confiscated by some very aggressive soldiers. I was accompanied by the Norwegian Charge (the Chancery is in a neighbouring house, and the DN Ambassador - who shares an office). After some very tense moments and some calls to Bereket I managed to get the equipment returned. I asked Bereket for access to Shauwel and it was granted. We talked to him for an hour. He explained that the delay on the CUD presence the previous day was due to major arguments within the CUD Council on whether to accept the deal (understandable I suppose because 56 CUD officials in Addis are now arrested). We argued very strongly that the CUD must make an explicit statement to abide by the Declaration and reject pre-conditions (as had previously been agreed in my dialogue with all parties). We reasoned that once the Declaration was in place the international community could put diplomatic pressure on the Government to ensure basic human rights were respected and help CUD and other Opposition parties to get their members, who had been subject to arbitrary arrest, out of jail.

In the afternoon I heard more extraordinary stories. Over 3,500 people, including women and children

have been moved to a detention centre one hour's drive from Addis. I also heard that parents going to mortuaries to collect their relatives killed in the riots last Wednesday were required by the Govt security forces to sign a document indicating that their sons/daughters were criminals - no signature, no body.

In late afternoon the Deputy CUD leader Berhanu Nega came to see me with a draft CUD Press statement, trying to get the CUD back on board. He had not yet been placed under house arrest. The statement was badly written and I knew it would be rejected by Bereket, who had confirmed in another conversation with me in the afternoon that he wanted to really punish the CUD. The UK Ambassador was also present at the meeting and he shared my opinion. I made a range of suggestions to 'improve' it and make it more palatable.

At about 21.00 local time the CUD put out a much better statement. I communicated it to Bereket to see whether it went far enough for EPRDF. He initially said no. He then contacted Meles and phoned me back. Bizarrely, he proposed a revised text to present to CUD which, ironically, was weaker than the CUD version.

Bereket finally called me at 23.00 and indicated that he would consult again amongst his colleagues and the PM on the CUD text and let me know in the morning if it went far enough to allow all three parties to sit around the table again.

So, the end of a long and rather dramatic day. I believe the EPRDF will accept the new statement by CUD and the three parties will be able to meet again on Monday. But I will not know until tomorrow morning. Lots of confidence-building measure are still needed to keep the parties talking to each other.

Conclusion:

- the situation is still very fragile
- Basic human right abuses are being committed by the Government on a daily basis - the EU must respond firmly and resolutely, but the timing for any demarches will be critical. I would recommend that we remain silent on this for a day or so until the dialogue process is back on track
- Every effort must be made to get the parties to move forward
- For good or bad reasons I am inextricably bound into the process. This is partly personal, partly institutional. We need to reflect at some stage whether this is 'healthy'. It is possible that once the process is underway again I can take a back seat and wheel the Troika back into action. At the moment both Meles and the Opposition Party Leaders prefer to work through me individually.

All-in-all, not a good start to the week-end..

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: vendredi 10 juin 2005 16:48

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX); B...

[REDACTED]

representation finally appeared and lined up alongside the other parties (the CUD claimed - probably with some reason - that their secretaries had been arrested so they had no secretarial staff to type their statements in english and amharic).

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Subject: Ethiopia: Agreement of Parties on Amharic and English texts. Signing ceremony and Press Conference at 14.00 at the NEB

Importance: High

I have just finished with the Party Leaders the final negotiation session of the Amharic Text. So in principle all is set...

The Parties will sign at 14.00 at the HQ of the National Election Board in the presence of the UN, EU, AU and US

Each party will be allowed to make a statement in support of the declaration. The Ethiopian and International Press is invited. The event will be chaired by Ato Kemal, Chair of the NEB

Bereket is nervous that the Opposition will use the occasion to start a broader polemic against the events of the last few days. I have insisted on the need for utmost restraint in the language used

Bereket is also very concerned that the Parties take full responsibility for the behaviour of their members

I have spoken again to Ato Kemal who chaired a NEB Board meeting this morning that welcomed and endorsed the Declaration. I have agreed with him late this morning on the text of an Instruction he will issue for implementing the Declaration. He will give it in draft form to the Parties today, and aim to get agreement with them by Monday next week in order to start the assessment of the Complaints on Monday

Although all this is very positive, there are still instances of harassment going on - I have just heard of one such incident in the Mercator zone in Addis where the troubles started a few days ago. I have also heard of CUD people being arrested this morning - and indeed possibilities that CUD will not sign because of the continued harassment.

The Government MUST stop sending mixed signals (I hear that Blair will call Meles this morning)

It is very important that we exert maximum diplomatic pressure on all parties to ensure full respect for the rule of law and uphold international human rights principles.

I have seen some internal exchanges on the content of an EU statement. My advice at this delicate stage, is to send out a positive signal but emphasize the need for all parties to behave with great sense of responsibility and maturity

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: vendredi 10 juin 2005 8:23

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf

Subject: Ethiopia: Status this morning at 08.00 Calm, surreal atmosphere in Addis

Calm this morning in Addis. But rather surreal - no shops open, no public transport, no taxis, people avidly reading the newspapers to find out what is going on, military presence widespread - armoured personnel carriers on the streets etc

Had a major scare last night when I was told a press release had been issued by the CUD calling for insurrection, but this was an error. One of the CUD leaders - Berhanu Nega - was preventing from leaving the country last night at the airport - he was going on a fund-raising tour to Sweden, UK, Belgium. I tried to intervene with Bereket at around 23.00 but couldn't get through. Throughout the day yesterday CUD cadres were being picked up by the government. Nega told me late last night that if this harassment against the CUD continues they may decide NOT to sign later this morning. I strongly urged him to sign and complain afterwards

The meeting on the approval of a Amharic text will take place in half an hour in my office. Details still have to be fixed on the signing ceremony later this morning.

I am suggesting that the EU Troika plus US go and see the Chair of the NEB, Ato Kemal, some time today to ensure that the NEB put in place the necessary measures to implement the agreement. I suspect I will get involved in the drafting process again

Although the signing of the agreement is a pivotal and necessary step, the 'proof of the pudding is in the eating'. Although the transparency elements in the agreement should in principle allow a fair complaints process, I suppose there is always room somewhere for manipulation, and the NEB still, as the final arbiter, may take some 'surprising' decisions that will oblige the Opposition to fill the courts with appeals. Yesterday, the CUD won a court case against the NEB, for publishing provisional results on its website - much to ERIS's dismay (they had advised the NEB to publish). I suppose the NEB will appeal against the decision

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: jeudi 9 juin 2005 14:03

To: MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX); RINGROSE David (RELEX); DE SAINT MAURICE Thierry (RELEX);

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This morning I have been playing go-between between Bereket and the Opposition leaders. We now have agreed Opposition comments on the latest EPRDF text on the complaints and review process. I am just about to go back to Bereket to see if he accepts them. I have programmed another meeting with the Opposition leaders at 16.30 in my office. If all goes well we may get something agreed by both sides by 18.00. I'm keeping fingers crossed. There would be a joint press statement plus signing ceremony. We all agree on the necessity to try to get all sides on board by tonight

There is a special HOMs meeting at 15.00 in the EC Delegation to review security and other arrangements. I will give HOMs the latest info on this

Ana Gomes has been trying to get access to a CUD leader who seems to be under house arrest. She will report separately on this.

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: jeudi 9 juin 2005 7:51

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc:

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Addis A appears to be calm. No special incidents reported during the night. No public transport. Many people staying at home. Military and police presence high.

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 8 juin 2005 22:52

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX);

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Two further developments

I was called by PM Meles after he had received a call from Solana in Jordan. He well understood the messages that Solana had passed. He said he would do everything to exercise restraint. He fully supported our efforts to get a joint all party declaration. He was still very much concerned by the conduct of the EU EOM and urged that it stayed strictly within its observation mandate, and not make statements on the political process at such sensitive times

Minister Bereket came to see me at 21.00 and left one hour and a half later. He brought with him an amended text of the joint declaration that I had sent him in the morning. I and colleagues have looked at the text and believe that the changes can probably be accommodated. I have asked him to revise some of the proposed changes with a representative of ERIS first thing in the morning. I will meet with him at his office at 10.00 tomorrow, with possibly Ato Kemal from the NEB, to assess the latest version. Then I propose to see the Opposition parties to see if they can sign up to a revised text.

So I am more optimistic than earlier this morning that there may be a negotiated way forward, acceptable to all parties. The Opposition must do their utmost to exercise 100 % restraint, even in the face of unacceptable provocation. And the Government must avoid at all costs making provocative arrests (while in my office we heard that a senior CUD person had been arrested, but we think an intervention by Bereket, in front of our eyes, may have managed to get the person released). He said that any decision to arrest the leaders would have to be made by Meles, and Meles alone. I had the impression from PM Meles that he would not do so - at least before our discussions tomorrow

results were due to be declared, as the 'Day of Insurrection', initiated and promulgated by the Opposition. The opposition deny all notion of such a concept. So do the HOMs

Ana Gomes' return has been very timely and welcome. She visited one of the hospitals this morning and came back with some shocking stories. She also had an over two hour meeting with Bereket, asking whether the Government was still interested in a successful conclusion of the election process. She is writing a separate report

The HOMs meeting held in the delegation because of non-access to the NL Embassy (access roads blocked by police/army) has concluded its discussions. A EU security meeting will take place at 09.00 tomorrow. Another HOMs meeting will take place at the EC delegation tomorrow at 15.00 local time

The HOMs agreed to:

- Draft a note from Solana to Meles (a draft, done by us and the NL should be sent within the next hour)
- Initiate urgently an Article 8 dialogue with Meles
- Support an Ambassador's Donor's group initiative to request a meeting with Meles
- Support the draft declaration of the parties on the conclusion of the electoral process
- The NL will attempt to provide common guidance on travel to and within Ethiopia

The UK Ambassador indicated that last night he tried to get Blair to speak to Meles, failed, but Hilary Benn succeeded in getting through. Both Konare and Kofi Annan also spoke to Meles last night - to no avail so it seems

I need urgent instructions on how to respond if an opposition leader knocks on my door again tonight, or if someone seeks

refuge on the compound. There is no common view on this within the HOMs, but the general view is that we should offer such facilities in life-threatening situations.

I have not been out of the office all day, so am poorly placed to judge the situation on the streets of Addis and elsewhere.

I instructed the staff of the delegation to leave the office early in the afternoon. I will re-assess the situation with the Security adviser tomorrow morning. There are differences of opinion within the HOMs on the level of restrictions to apply.

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 8 juin 2005 8:40

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX)

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Very serious developments last night

Stalinistic announcements on the government media denouncing the Opposition and signaling a major crackdown#

Opposition leaders threatened with arrest - but by concerted action by EC, Ireland, Norway managed to prevent arrests

Meeting this morning in my office with all Opposition leaders, EU Troika, and ERIS to try and sort out what to do next

Shots in the streets this morning. Taxi strike

I'll try and keep you in touch

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 7 juin 2005 19:08

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf

Importance: High

I was called in by Foreign Minister Seyoum. It was a follow up to my meeting with PM Meles on Saturday. It was a tete-a-tete with no note - takers in the meeting.

It lasted 1 1/2 hours. It included a long tripartite exchange on the telephone with Minister Bereket who had been at the meeting with the NEB in the morning, trying to define how to move forward. The atmosphere was very friendly to me personally although he had many barbs for the EU EOM - and for the Opposition.

He had called me in, primarily I think, to assess my views on the Opposition's attitude to the meeting in the morning with the NEB. I told him I thought the prognosis now was getting worse, and that it needed a gesture from the NEB on the issue of party observation of the screening process to prevent things getting out of hand. I sensed some possible movement from him on this - but not Bereket

He was very rough on the Opposition, claiming that they were inciting violence, provoking student unrest, and responsible for public disorder. He gave a non-veiled threat at the end of the meeting that he would not hesitate on clamping down on their activities even harder if they failed to respect the rule of law

He praised the EU for what it was doing (!), their primary development partner and was happy that I agreed with him that we had a common agenda - namely to ensure the electoral process was completed according to international standards. He was however very very tough on the EU EOM and, like the PM, castigated the Mission for the leaked report, and for its poor technical quality (once again being very critical of the table with the speculation of final results). I informed him that Ana Gomes was coming to Addis tonight and he should take up these issues with her if he wished

I then joined the Special HOMs group which swapped stories about unrest on the streets of Addis and elsewhere and agreed a draft EU/Ambassadors' Donors Group text (that I had drafted with NL the previous afternoon). The Presidency expressed severe irritation with the lack of response so far from Lux, and the fact that the HOMs report had not been distributed to MSs

As regards the AWG tomorrow, I hope it can endorse the HOMs report, agree the ADG/EU statement, and reinforce its message of support for the Troika here.

I hope you are all not too bored by this unfolding saga. We are still hoping we can help orientate everything towards a peaceful outcome, acceptable to the people here. The EU's visibility is very high here on this, and, thankfully our efforts are very much recognised and respected on the streets. But we are still very much on a knife edge, and will remain so unless and until an acceptable agreement is reached on the screening/complaint process

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 7 juin 2005 13:21

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc:

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Importance: High

Following the NEB meeting I have had discussions with both Ato Kemal, Chair of the NEB and Dr Berhanu Nega, leader of the CUD.

Kemal confirmed that he will now go ahead with the screening WITHOUT the parties present. He will call a meeting, at the latest by Thursday, to discuss the precise terms of reference of the Investigation Panel, to be composed of the NEB, political parties and observers. CUD does not think this discussion on the panel will be too difficult

HOWEVER, CUD is viscerally opposed to the exclusion of the parties from the screening. The CUD had wanted, as a compromise, the screening to be included in the mandate of the Investigative Panel. But this has been rejected. Nega told me that the CUD will not immediately rush into a public statement, but there IS a transparency issue and that the people need to be told. He would prefer to respond to a statement from the NEB rather than go public first. He will contact me later in the day when he has consulted more widely with other Opposition groups

I will see in my meeting with FA Minister Seyoum if there is any room for manoeuvre.

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 7 juin 2005 12:47

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX)

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The NEB meeting has broken up after 3 hours with NO agreement on the issue of party observers for the Screening process

It seems likely that the CUD will go public on this later today. Minister Bereket indicated that if the CUD did this they would be 'playing with fire'

Violent incidents are already popping up all over Addis and elsewhere. The Austrian Ambassador just called me to say that she has been witnessing the army moving into a High School and removing children. There have been violent scenes around one of the main squares

I have been called in to see the Minister of Foreign Affairs Seyoum at 14.30 - in one and a half hours' time. I will then move on to a Special HOMs meeting at the NL Embassy

I fear that matters could get seriously out of hand...

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 7 juin 2005 9:28

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf

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Importance: High

The turmoil at the University yesterday morning - now I understand probably spreading to Jima and other Universities in the country - has left the country in a state of considerable unease. The govt officially declared 370 students had been arrested and taken away to a detention centre 30 km out of Addis, but our figures are nearer 700. An EU EOM Observer was at the University and got caught in the middle of the disturbance. He was surprised that armed police intervened, rather than unarmed riot police. There is no reliable information on what prompted the police to intervene.

Last night I was informed that the NEB meeting with political parties that had been expected yesterday afternoon would take place this morning. The Carter Centre said that they had been invited, but I had heard nothing about our mission

This morning I contacted the Chair of the NEB and he confirmed that the EU EOM was invited. Our acting Chief Observer plus my Political Adviser will attend, together with the Carter Centre and a single representative of each Opposition party

This is the make or break meeting. If Kemal changes his mind, and agrees that the parties can observe the screening process, then the Opposition will be satisfied to follow the process without engaging in demonstrations. If however he disagrees, then chaos could ensue.

Last night I was sent by hand two notes from Minister Bereket, Chairperson of the EPRDF Election Committee and Minister of Information. One consists of a five page rebuttal of the leaked EU EOM Internal report. The other : 'Blackmail as an instrument of unconstitutional power grab' is a three page diatribe against the Opposition. On television last night Bereket said he would hunt down the leaders of the Opposition, whose lives are clearly now at risk.

I will let you know the results of the meeting as soon as they emerge

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: lundi 6 juin 2005 18:35

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

[REDACTED]

Subject: Ethiopian elections: Disturbances at the University

Importance: High

Things seem to be hotting up here

Although details are difficult to confirm 4 students were arrested early this morning. This led to widespread demonstrations on the two halves of the University campus. The police surrounded, then invaded the campus. Many truckloads of students were taken away during the morning. Destination unknown. Outside the British and French embassy shots were fired. The UK Ambassador instructed his staff not to leave the compound (he ultimately could not attend a special HOMs meeting at 15.00 at the NL embassy). A brick was thrown through the French attaches car which was in the university area

Mobile phones seem to be affected. It has been almost impossible to get a line

Wolfram has already provided some details of the results of the NEB Press Conference this morning. I have no information at present on the afternoon meeting

The HOMs are very concerned as you can imagine. We agreed at 12.00 local time a HOMs report and policy lines. But NL seems to have had trouble getting through to the Lux Africa Director

The NL has received this morning a nasty Note Verbale from the Min of Foreign Affairs asking the EU to 'redress the situation' caused by the leaked EU EOM report, and holding the EU responsible for the consequences. It has annexed a detailed rebuttal of the content of the leaked report - several pages

The HOMs decided to:

- Draft a new EU Statement following the events at the University. I and my NL colleague produced a draft which should by now be on its way to Lux by COREU
- Request Ana Gomes to return
- Call for an immediate meeting with PM Meles (EU plus AU, US etc)
- Instruct Security Officers to provide guidance to EU staff. (the D school remains open, the F school will be closed tomorrow, It school - no decision taken yet)
- Seek clear and immediate instructions from HQ so that the Troika can start functioning again (regrettably we did not participate at the meetings on Sunday)

I have not heard whether anyone followed my recommendation yesterday for Solana/Michel/both ? to call PM Meles this morning. Would be grateful for feedback on this

The HOMs will meet again tomorrow to follow events

If I get any further information I will contact you later tonight

Tim Clarke

We agreed to

[REDACTED]

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: dimanche 5 juin 2005 20:34

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAR)

Subject: Ethiopian elections: Meeting with leader of the Opposition Nega; Suggested call to Meles by Solana/Michel

Importance: High

Tonight, at his request, Dr Berhanu Nega - the most articulate and respected of the Opposition leaders, called in on me for an hour. He had come directly from a meeting at 16.30 between the 4 main Opposition leaders and the African Contact Group of Ambassadors (the 5 Deans of each of the regions in Africa plus the PSC reps Nigeria and S Africa). The EU Troika did NOT attend the meeting, having decided yesterday to await a formal endorsement of our political line here from the Lux Presidency. (The meeting with Opposition leaders was followed in the same format by a meeting with the Ruling party - with two of the EPRDF hawks Minister Bereket and Minister Girma)

Dr Nega had two principal concerns: ever- growing harassment/beatings in the rural areas of the CUD membership; non participation of the parties in the screening process, due to be announced by the Chair of the NEB tomorrow at 10.00. For him, observation of the screening process is absolutely CRITICAL to the credibility of the process. The Opposition parties will NOT agree to any screening which does not allow their participation as observers

Strangely enough he has NOT yet been invited to a meeting that Kemal was due to call for tomorrow afternoon to seek endorsement by the political parties of the screening/complaints process.

By chance, our Deputy Chief Observer Raphael was at my house when Dr Nega arrived (Raphael flies out to Madrid tomorrow at 04.00). Rafael does not believe that the EU EOM should observe the screening if the parties are not allowed to observe - this would be against all international principles..

At this delicate stage, the screening issue is a fundamental matter where the EU/EC must take a line. Although the present electoral law does NOT oblige the NEB to have any observers, for us here it makes no sense just to have international observers WITHOUT the parties, and since the presence of all parties is almost a *sine qua non* par for the impartiality/transparency/credibility of the process at this critical juncture we believe that the NEB should invite both international observers AND parties on the screening

Harassment also is a major issue, causing considerable discontent. Dr Nega told me that there are calls tomorrow for a general strike

My RECOMMENDATION is that PM Meles should be called by Michel or Solana tomorrow on both these points. If the Opposition refuse to agree on the screening process tomorrow, it could spark the sort of confrontation that we are desperately trying to avoid here

I can confirm that I received an hour or so ago a draft HOMs report from the NL Acting Presidency. The Special HOMs meeting will take place, as I indicated yesterday, tomorrow afternoon to be finalised and sent to HQ. There are no major surprises in it, nor nothing that you have not already heard from me

On a personal note, I feel that my role - and the EC's - as 'honest broker' seems to be recognised here, as my recent meetings both with the PM and leader of the Opposition party show. This is rather satisfying.

Tomorrow morning I am involved in a Donor Retreat where we are pushing aggressively the harmonisation/coherence agenda with the EU MStates, UN, WBank etc. I can always be reached on my mobile if needed

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: samedi 4 juin 2005 18:26
To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Importance: High

Yesterday, Friday: Troika meetings with Konare, African Committee of Ambassadors, ERIS, Special HOMs meeting etc. The Opposition has taken out an injunction against the Meles: it has been referred to the High Court (President is Kemal Bedri, Chair of NEB). Kemal, Chair of the NEB, will be holding a Press Conference at 10.00 on Monday June 6th, then a meeting with the Parties in the afternoon. The election results have been postponed to the first week in July. PM Meles had a bilateral with the UK Ambassador. CUD filed its complaints within the June 3rd deadline

Today, Saturday: I have just come from a two hour (!) tete-a-tete with PM Meles. Relations on a personal basis extremely cordial. Several major irritants:

a) leaked EU EOM report. He insists this the content is inaccurate and has created a false picture of the situation. Particularly concerned that it gave a wrong image to the general public of the nature of the electoral process, is biased against the EPRDF, and gave the impression (false in his view) that CUD had won an overall majority. He questions the technical quality, analytical basis and impartiality of the EU EOM. He regrets that the leakage of the report soured his meeting the following day with Solana/Michel.

b) He believes that the attempts by the EU Troika/US/Others to get the Opposition on board the electoral process is beginning to have a negative effect in that these are 'emboldening' the Opposition to take a tougher line. He thinks that should be one final push - perhaps bilateral meetings with the EU/AU/US/UN and each of the parties (Opposition then EPRDF) then the process should be left to follow its course. He re-iterated his support from the EU in the complaints process (as observers)

I had a meeting with the Carter Centre this morning. They are mobilising some extra observers. Seeking close co-operation with our EU EOM....

Also had this morning an informal Troika with the UK, NL to discuss next steps. We were going to participate on Sunday afternoon with a wider international discussion on Sunday afternoon, but in view of the Luxembourg and other interventions yesterday we decided it was wiser to await specific instructions rather than participate in such initiatives. The NL Ambassador spoke to his Africa Director this morning who strongly supported the Troika's present line. The NL Acting Presidency is working this afternoon on a draft HOMs report and political orientation. It will be circulated to HOMs tonight. A HOMs meeting is scheduled at 14.00 Monday 6th June to finalise the draft for submission via the NL Director to the Luxembourg Presidency in time for discussion at the next AWG next week.

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: jeudi 2 juin 2005 7:48
To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX);

Subject: Update on Ethiopian elections

Importance: High

This morning I have a meeting with the Students Council of the University, then a meeting of the HOMs (with the Dep Chief Observer Rafael), then hopefully another Troika plus US (plus possibly UN plus AU) with Chairman Kemal of the NEB. Then another meeting with Konare who is due to meet Meles this morning. The African Group of Ambassadors met with Meles last night

Yesterday there were two significant meetings. The first, the Troika plus US with Konare, Djinnit and Joiner. The second - which lasted two hours, last night between the Troika, US and the opposition leaders, with the AU (Joiner) and the UN invited as observers

Konare is extremely preoccupied with the situation and fears that the slightest spark could ignite civil disturbances across the country with totally unpredictable - and possibly catastrophic - outcomes. He agreed to line up with the EU, UN and US to provide a solid front. It is very important to agree on key messages from the international community. Any inconsistencies will be pounced upon by the Ethiopians. The AU intends to resurrect the AU Observer mission if they can

The Opposition meeting was worrying. They have no confidence whatsoever in the Ethiopian bodies charged with carrying the process through - neither the NEB nor the Courts. They are already threatening demonstrations (stated to be peaceful - but how can this be guaranteed?), are producing inflammatory press statements and plan a press conference on Friday that will show beatings, harassment etc.

Somehow, from all this disorder, all the parties have to agree on an acceptable complaints mechanism. They agreed yesterday to accept such a mechanism with NEB in the chair, provided, and it is a big provided, the international observers can play some sort of arbitration role. We said - myself and US (for the Carter centre) that this is impossible and not part of our mandate - we can only observe. It is possible however that ERIS could provide this sort of extra expertise, but so far all their offers to provide legal expertise etc have been rejected by the NEB. We emphasized yesterday that the NEB must, by Friday June 3rd - the date of their next Board meeting and in principle the deadline for the submission by Parties of all the complaints - put on the table a text, agreed by all parties, on how the complaints system should work. So far, no document has been presented by the NEB to the Opposition. This will be the main focus of our meeting with Kemal this morning

As regards the Speaking Notes that emerged yesterday morning, they have no formal status whatsoever, and are just intended to guide the dialogue process. It would be helpful to find an agreed formulation for the EU - and ultimately the international community - and we would welcome such a text. In the meantime we will continue to try to use our good offices here to keep the electoral process moving forward and to try and keep the lid on a potentially very dangerous situation.

One word about the latest EU Mission Observation report which I have partially seen. In a situation where we know it may be leaked, very careful judgement will have to be used on its dissemination since its content could inflame an already very delicate situation, at a time when the EU EOM is under the spotlight of all parties. In the present situation I personally would be against its distribution, but wiser people than I will have to judge on this

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: vendredi 27 mai 2005 19:22

To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX)

Subject: Last Ethiopia election report tonight before I move on to the sexy subject of improved World Bank/EC relations with the WB Director

Importance: High

Hi Rolf

Thanks a lot for the excellent information on strengthening the EU EOM and that the EU EOM had put out a letter to the NEB and FMinister

On the scope of the Non Paper, you should recall that this is intended a series of bullet points for discussion around the subject of dialogue between the Ruling Party and the Opposition parties. It has nothing to do with dialogue between us and them, nor anything to do with our view, or the EU EOM's view, of the credibility of the process. So I don't really understand your points

Having said that, of course I will share anything that emerges with you and ask your advice/instructions as appropriate, as we are already doing

However, the message from the Troika/US/UN meeting was not very encouraging (the AU decided not to attend - Konare will see Meles tomorrow morning on a bilateral basis and preferred to stay out at the moment).

The US Ambassador saw Meles this afternoon and raised the sort of points we discussed in the morning, but Meles - despite all the pressure on him - does not seem ready to respond. He is willing to dialogue, but ONLY in the framework of the discredited NEB-chaired Political Party Forum (Michel and Solana will recall the very hostile response of the Opposition to this). The NEB may indeed have this role up to the declaration of the results, but is not at all perceived as an honest broker and has no mandate whatsoever in the post-election/transition period.

There may be an opening if we can persuade the Opposition to re-think the membership of the PPF and perhaps nominate a representative group for dialogue purposes. However, we are not very optimistic

We had feedback from the UN Sec Gen meeting with Meles which followed very similar lines to previously reported Troika meetings. One additional issue he raised was Eritrea. Meles was clear that Eritrea was a non-issue at this stage - the same as he had told us - and he didn't think the election would have any impact (assuming of course he has a majority)

We concluded to do the following:

- Try for a meeting with the Chairman of the NEB tomorrow morning to discuss how he saw the current role of the Political Party Forum and see how he reacted to the PM's proposal. The NL Presidency will make the contacts
- Try to put on paper a number of ideas for a one page set of bullet points for dialogue (in the end there was no time to do this during the day).

I suspect we will meet up during the week-end to exchange notes again

Happy Week End

Tim

From: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)

Sent: vendredi 27 mai 2005 18:51

To: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX); DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX);

Subject: RE: Latest update on Ethiopia Elections - VERY URGENT

Tim,

I understand you're running from meeting to meeting, but here are some immediate reactions from RELEX/B/1 angle, not least in light of the meeting held here last night with colleagues from DEV, CABs and with Ana Gomes:

As you have probably seen from an earlier mail from David we are working with AIDCO on the technical/financial arrangements to ensure that the EOM remains present certainly until after the official announcement of the election results, anticipated for 8 June. Moreover, we envisage to ensure presence of some of the EOM for the time of the complaints procedure, as requested by PM. Finally, Ana will be back in time for 8 June, as agreed yesterday.

Regarding the Ethiopian reaction to the leak, you will have seen the letters sent by the EOM. In this respect we have nothing to add. I doubt that it makes sense for the local Presidency to also send a letter, after the regrets already expressed by the Commissioner + Solana. With the Carter end of the issue, we deal with it from here.

However, we are concerned about the scope of the envisaged NON PAPER ! First of all, you will have noted from the conclusions of last night's meeting here, any "mediation" related activities need to be approved and decided upon in Brussels, not by local HoMs. So, any non paper produced should be relayed immediately to HQ, respectively to capitals, for consideration and subsequent instruction, before handing anything over to the E side.

Moreover, on substance, and particularly from my angle of responsibility, I would point out that the non paper may **not** address the issue of the "credibility of the election process and the various institutions charged with carrying it to its conclusions, including the appeals procedures", as these are matters of concern under the strict responsibility of the EOM. Indeed, the CO will have to issue another declaration upon the official announcement of the election results and then take position on the "credibility" issue. Therefore, any non paper must clearly respect the prerogatives of the EOM and not interfere with its responsibilities.

As to the EOM statement of 24 May, we do not share the reported HoMs appreciation re "tone" and "one-sided nature" of that statement. Moreover, as you well know, the EOM is independent and it is not for the Commission or the MS to interfere. While we understand possible uneasiness of local HoMs in light of their own interests/position, we believe that the statement was justified. Just to warn you, the post- 8 June statement may yet be tougher, depending on the final findings, I suppose. This being said, we are fully aware of the political sensitivities and the stakes. That's why we had last night's coordination meeting here.

These are some first reactions. Please keep us abreast on further developments, particularly re the feedback from the US-PM meeting. Thanks and good nerves!

Rolf

-----Original Message-----

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: Friday, May 27, 2005 2:08 PM

To: DELPHIN Herve (CAB)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); DELCROIX Nicola (RELEX); VETTER Wolfram (RELEX)

Subject: Latest update on Ethiopia Elections VERY URGENT

Importance: High

Time for another update

This morning the HOMs were briefed by the Troika on events of the last few days, notably the meetings yesterday between Solana/Michel and Prime Minister Meles and between them and the Opposition, as well as the Troika meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs one hour prior to the meeting with Meles.

I hope already you have had some feedback on the massive impact of the leaked EUEOM report. Both FM Seyoum and PM Meles used extraordinarily strong language. Both accused the EU of deliberately leaking the document and saying that the EU EOM had broken the MoU on Electoral Observation. The leaked report, according to Melese was 'outrageous' and he accused the EU of 'Playing Poker with the lives of 70 million people', of 'fuelling a potential fire', of causing 'irreversible damage' and of 'undermining the electoral process'.

I contacted Rafael last night and urged him, in consultation with Ana, to send an urgent letter to the PM and Chair of the NEB refuting the allegations of a deliberate leak, reinforcing the professionalism and independence of the team and indicating that the EU EOM had undertaken its mission in total conformity with the MoU and would continue to do so

I also urged at the HOMs this morning that the EU Presidency should do the same, but should wait to see sight of EU EOM letter. Such an EU letter should make crystal clear the distinction between the mandate of the EU EOM and the role of the EU, yet should reinforce its support and faith in the EU EOM mission as impartial, expert, independent, and credible

The HOMs made the very powerful point, that after all the troubles with tabulation and aggregation of results, the EU EOM report REMAINS THE ONLY CREDIBLE, ACCURATE AND VERIFIABLE source of information on results. The Ruling party may, for its own interests, do everything possible therefore to discredit the EU EOM. Hence the dramatic negative impact of the leakage

The HOMs meeting was followed immediately with a Troika/ US Ambassador meeting to try and exchange notes and define a future strategy. The US Ambassador will be seeing PM Meles at 15.00 this afternoon. (Koffi Annan saw the PM and the Opposition last night too, and is likely to follow this up with a letter to Meles).

What we have just jointly (EU Troika/US) agreed two hours ago is as follows:

- The production by the main donors (UN, EU, US, AU) of a Non Paper setting out the broad lines of a possible dialogue process. This should be divided into phases: between now and June 3rd (the time when the NEB yesterday fixed for all groups to submit complaints); the announcement of results day and the immediate days afterwards; the transition process to September, including the elections in the Somali region. This paper would focus on the credibility of the election process and the various institutions charged with carrying it to its conclusions, including the appeals procedures - the NEB and the Courts; the media; the need for calm and respect of various non-violence codes; security; the dialogue process and methodology; a possible Joint Statement in the public media. The paper would be in the form of a number of bullet points around which discussion should/could take place
- There are a range of scenarios on how the dialogue could take place: it could be exclusively with the Parties, it could be with the parties and observers (EU, UN, AU, US and or others); it could be chaired by an external person or group (perhaps Inter Africa Forum - Abdul Mohammed who has successfully run all their TV debates in the run up to the elections)...
- The US will explore the lines of this in her meeting with the PM this afternoon
- The EU Presidency will host at 17.00 today a meeting of the EU Troika, UN, US and AU to get feedback on the US PM meeting and to see if the international community can formulate a common line on the next steps
- If there is agreement amongst us, to pass this message on the Ruling Party and Opposition

tonight, to leave the week-end for them to think about it and possibly to have a pre-dialogue meeting on Monday (or earlier) with all parties

I will report back on the meeting tonight.

In the meantime, if you have any views/suggestions on the above, please send me instructions as soon as possible

I do not need to emphasize the extreme sensitivity of the above, and of the crucial requirement for the EU EOM to carry out its mission with the utmost neutrality and expertise. Many HOMs this morning regretted the tone and one-sided nature of the last EU EOM statement which had provoked PM Meles to call in Rafael, the Deputy Head of the mission. None of the HOMs here question the independence of the EU EOM. But they urge caution prior to the issuing of statements

The election is provoking unparalleled communication between the international community here. I hope it continues

Hope all this helps and that Solana/Michel got back safely

Tim Clarke

P.S. Some damage control is needed with the Carter Centre. Their rep is coming back here next week. Whatever one thinks of their competence, it is absolutely essential that the messages passed are similar - I am already hearing negative reaction against us to the comments on them in the leaked report

PPS It would be very helpful to know TODAY whether the EU EOM can be strengthened to observe the complaints /appeals procedures as requested by both FMinister Seyoum and the PM

PPS Some HOMs requested that Ana returns. I am not sure that this will help at this stage, but certainly the pros and cons have to be thought through very carefully

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 25 mai 2005 20:44

To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); MEYER-RESENDE Michael (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSTI); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSTI); MANSERVIST Stefano (DEV); SABATUCCI Ranieri (DEV)

I have just returned from a two hour meeting between the 4 main Opposition leaders, the EU Troika and the US Ambassador

The mood is very tense. They are devastated by the events of the last few days after the polling day that have turned the electoral process on its head

They each painted a picture of helplessness in the face of blatant interventions by the EPRDF to reverse the wishes of the electorate. They talked of widespread accounts of revenge beatings by the EPRDF of Opposition supporters and their families.

They repeated their message of support for a peaceful, non-violent process, of the VITAL need to

restore access to the public press, and the need for dialogue. But the NEB, according to them, has lost all credibility: 'it is a failed institution', 'how can we salvage the situation'

On the role of the observation missions (EU EOM and Carter) , the mood has started to turn against them. As far as the Opposition is concerned: 'A vote stolen cannot stand...there cannot be any compromise on this...there must be no mixed signals from the international community...I am really scared a revolt will come - and this will not be like Togo'

They believe our active engagement in the continuation of the electoral process to its bitter end is absolutely vital, as well as in fostering/mediating dialogue. This MUST be an official dialogue - but they believe the EPRDF is not ready for it since 'they cannot accept change'. 'Meles has been practising double talk - claiming he wants a flawless process, but even yesterday publicly declaring on Television that he had won (having promised us three days ago that he would make no such declaration).'

In short, a very disturbing meeting.

They agreed to meet with Solana and Michel after the meeting with Meles at 16.00 local time. The NL Presidency will be making a full report of the meeting

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 25 mai 2005 13:52

To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX);

the Opposition later today:

- 1) Insist on ensuring that due electoral process is maintained - NEB's mandate must continue. If the results are to be contested, use due process and the courts if necessary to appeal. Be assured that observers will continue to watch NEB and follow up appeals etc
- 2) Insist that Codes of Conduct must be respected. We will hold Parties accountable to their members. No violence or incitations to violence can be tolerated
- 3) We will support all efforts for parties to dialogue (consistent with EU statement). NL Presidency had proposed even going so far as to propose a mediator and an agenda for dialogue, but at this stage it was thought to be premature. We should however be clear that we are prepared to play this role if requested.

Some other elements to emerge:

- o Tensions are quite high on the university campus. The University administration has suggested prolonging the present exam period so that students are obliged to focus their minds elsewhere
- o As of this morning, the NEB has posted 157 results out of 524 constituencies. This is consistent with the Chairman of the NEB's views that he would probably know 250 results

by Monday next week. The TA support to the NEB, ERIS, is suggesting greater involvement of the Opposition in the NEB's complaints arbitration process. This may further delay publication of the results

- o The UK Ambassador had a meeting with Konare yesterday, primarily about the Commission for Africa/G8 summit. It turned out however that the focus of discussions switched to the Ethiopian elections. Konare is very concerned (implications for the AU with its HQ in Addis cf. African Devel Bank and Cote d'Ivoire). He was encouraged to call Meles.
- o There is increasing African interest in the outcome after the Informal Ambassadors lunch hosted by me on Monday this week. The Troika agreed, at an appropriate time, to brief key African ambassadors (Nigeria, Mozambique, S Africa) more fully

Regards

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 25 mai 2005 11:27

To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN

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1) There will be a big demonstration by the Ethiopian diaspora in Washington tomorrow. The Opposition here in Addis is under a lot of pressure to do the same. Tomorrow would be a good day to do it under the noses of the international community....We will discuss in the Troika in half an hour what line to take: I personally will argue against an demonstration. I am sure my colleagues will argue the same

2) CRDA, a local NGO which managed one day before the elections to obtain accreditation for domestic observation (and managed to field about 40 individuals I think), has indicated this morning in the press that their analyses show a massive victory for the Opposition across the board (rural and urban areas), and claims that the EU EOM and Carter mission found the same thing. We are considering how to react

3) An important and more or less credible local paper, the Daily Monitor, has published this morning an article headed: 'Gomez, Carter, please speak the truth or shut up, go home !' This was probably written before the release of the latest EU EOM statement

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Sent: mercredi 25 mai 2005 11:00

To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); MEYER-RESENDE Michael (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); ELLIS Alex (CAB); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); VERVAEKE KOEN (CONSIL); MANSERVISI Stefano (DEV)

St

In

I have just had confirmation that PM Meles can meet Solana and Michel at 16.30 tomorrow

I propose that I and Ambassador Vermass should also be present, together with one or two individuals proposed by Solana's Cabinet

Tim Clarke

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: mercredi 25 mai 2005 9:51
To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)

Just to confirm that there will be two further meetings today of the EU Troika and US, hosted by the NL Presidency:

The first, at 11.30 local time, to discuss the present situation. The second, with Opposition leaders at 17.30 local time. Let me know if there is anything you wish me to indicate at these meetings

Also, I am hopeful we will get a meeting with PM Meles tomorrow for Solana and Michel at around 16.00. It would be helpful if you have particular speaking points that you would like them to pass on to the Prime Minister.

Regards

Tim

From: CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)
Sent: mercredi 25 mai 2005 8:22
To: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)
Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); VAN BELLINGHEN Marc (RELEX); FISCHER BARNICOL Andreas (RELEX); BREWKA Miriam (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); GEER David (RELEX); MEYER-RESENDE Michael (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV)

Hi Rolf

I'm not sure 'even if it means political array in Ethiopia' is the best approach. 100 % in agreement on the need for objectivity and transparency. But we should seriously weigh the political consequences

5 Ambassadors (Portugal, Sweden, Austria, Canda, Norway) were called in yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to 'test the waters' on their reaction to the electoral process BEFORE the statement came out. I met several HOMs last night who were very nervous about the statement. They may call for a special HOMs meeting this morning

I will participate this afternoon in an EU Troika plus US demarche with the main Opposition leaders. The Troika may also do a demarche with the Min of Foreign Affairs

I have requested a meeting with PM Meles and Solana plus Michel tomorrow afternoon. I suppose it is possible that Kofi Annan who is also in town will see Meles as well.

I will keep you informed. I had an hour discussion with Deputy Chief Observer Rafael Pinto yesterday just before the statement was issued. He was clearly very worried by developments. He seems to have lost all confidence in the National Election Board - he thought the Chairman Kemal should already have resigned

I am not in a position to weigh up the level of post polling day manipulation, but it is clear that it has become increasingly difficult to get an objective picture of the real results

I will keep you informed on developments during the day

Regards

Tim

From: TIMANS Rolf (RELEX)

Sent: mardi 24 mai 2005 19:54

To: GEER David (RELEX); SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); MEYER-RESENDE Michael (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

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I am highly worried about the conclusions to be drawn from this report and those still to follow, incl about consequences for future coop with Carter Center; but the EOM will have to deliver an objective, unambiguous and clear picture/statement at the end of the day, even if it means political disarray in Ethiopia and presumably with our Member States.

Rolf Timans

-----Original Message-----

From: GEER David (RELEX)

Sent: Tuesday, May 24, 2005 4:22 PM

To: SMADJA Daniele (RELEX); TIMANS Rolf (RELEX); MEYER-RESENDE Michael (RELEX); BRUCE Andrew (RELEX); FENET Elsa (RELEX); DUARTE DE CARVALHO Joao (DEV); CLARKE Timothy (RELEX)

Cc: MOORE Roger (DEV); HENRIKSSON Anders (DEV); KUEHNEL Richard (CAB); DELPHIN Herve (CAB); VAN

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Please find attached a situation report produced by the EU Election Observation Mission in Ethiopia in the light of post election day events relating to counting and tabulation. Please note that this report is EU internal only and is not for further distribution.

With best wishes

<< File: SITUATION REPORT MAY 24 FINAL.doc >>

David Geer

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